342 hole through which they are only able to enter by stooping. The inside is never encumbered by beams and forked posts to support the house. Rooms, entrance hall, and plank floor are also absent. [354]

342 E14 The cachíbou is a very smooth leaf, long as the arm and more than a foot wide, and it is quite rigid. The Caribs cut them and expose them to the sun, which causes them to harden. Next they fold them at the middle and arrange them over a reed split in two, overlapping every four inches. They attach them with mahot or some cords on the lath. This is their substitute for roof tile. This covering lasts them almost two years. It is beautiful from within, for you would assume it had been painted. This leaf also serves as their parasol, and it is used in their baskets, which are always double, being placed between the two layers to keep water from penetrating.

342 [97] The boulémum are two big beams of wood on the inside of the roof. The cross rafters are fastened to them. The upper part of the house rests on notches made in these beams, which support the whole building. There are neither posts nor forks in the middle of the house so that one may walk about inside as in a market place, easily eight or ten men abreast. [90] Tabothíali are two little sticks which are tied together and which hold up two opposing rafters. The half reeds are on the outside. This tightens the leaves so that the wind will not blow them away. [115] The ticouloubi are the poles which are fitted lengthwise in the pirogue and support the planks on which one sits. They are also the encircling roof supports in the carbet. [461] With the top of the manboúlou reed they cover the roofs of their houses. [351] The Caribs use monochíali leaves to cover their houses. The French call these reeds ox tongues. [361]

There are old carbets which have only small forked posts and poles left and some banana leaves on them as a protection against the heat of the sun. [444] When they are working high in the mountains and are not able to return the same day they say, "I sleep in my garden." [54] "Enclose us, surround us with palisades for fear of our enemies." [187]

● 484 When the Caribs go to some other islands they know the camping places. They ordinarily choose locations where there is material for sheds, so they can set them up more easily, and where there are crabs 226 for meals. At these places game and fish are the most abundant and the easiest to obtain. [280] When the Caribs camp they set up some

484 ajoupa or sheds, which they cover with leaves, and they sleep there. Most of them tie up their hammocks to a couple of trees and sleep without further ceremony. Unfortunately when they are in the woods [38] or along the seashore the mosquitos wake them up with their humming, and if this is not sufficient, they sting them so terribly that one must be an unfeeling fellow not to be bothered by them. [88]

The Caribs cut four big pieces of wood which are round and smooth. They lean and attach two of these to the purlins of the house. The other two are firmly bound crosswise over the first ones. One of these is above and the other is below, in proportion to the size of the hammock they wish to make. Around this frame women pass their cotton thread which they handle well, although they don't exert themselves too much. They leave half a foot unwoven at both extremities and divide this unwoven part into small groups of (looped) threads. They tie a thin cord, called ébenebou, at the first group of looped threads. This cord is extended (out from the threads) to the length of the arm and then is bent back and passed through the second bundle of looped threads (thereby forming a large loop). From the second bundle this same cord is extended outwards a similar distance and is bent back and passed through the third bundle of looped threads, and similar loops are made up to the last bundle of threads (where the ébenebou cord is tied). A thicker cord is passed through the tops of these large loops (which are thereby drawn together), and this is the cord by which they suspend the hammock wherever it will 513 be hung. This hammock is a protection against snakes, ants, and other dangerous pests. The Caribs make a fire underneath at night to protect themselves from mosquitos and cool air. I have seen some Frenchmen who put mattresses on these hammocks to sleep as in Europe, always in line with the long dimension. This is different from the Caribs who sleep across the shorter dimension (in line with the two suspended ends), and use half of the breadth as a covering. [192]

491 Among the Caribs a bridge is a plank of wood or a felled tree across a brook. They do not use anything to bridge the large rivers, and they either become wet or cross over them in a small canoe. [361]

396 The Caribs hollow out and make a small canoe from a tree called by the French Holland cheese, because the axe cuts it like cheese. These canoes are used either when they are grating manioc or to go to some neighboring place. It rots immediately if left on the ground, but when it is soaked in water it lasts a sufficiently long time if it is taken out and set to dry. [175]

"I have enlarged my canoe." When the log is hollowed out they turn the opening downward and make a fire beneath it. This makes the opening larger. Then they force a stout stick across it and spread the sides. They stop when it is the right size. [115]

Pirogues, called canaoa, are the galleons of the Caribs. They are 60 feet long more or less. They are raised on the sides with planks. They hold crews of fifty to sixty men and even more. The distance between gunwales in the middle is eight to ten feet, and they have two very large and wide sails. They travel 200 to 300 leagues on the sea, and go as far as Cayenne and Surinam to join the Galibis who are their allies, either to barter their goods and bring back other kinds, or to form an army to attack the Arawaks who are their enemies. [108] They carry grated flour in bundles in their canoes. When they arrive at a place they press it and cook it. It is sometimes very sour when it is old. [264]

The French have learned from the Caribs how to dig out logs and make canoes, but they did not learn how to paddle and steer them, nor did they learn how to jump into the sea to right them when they have capsized. The Caribs are not afraid of capsizing, of wetting their clothes, or of losing everything and drowning. But the French for the most part are afraid of all these things, and do not wish to lose all their belongings from the canoe or risk their lives, for they have seen fatal accidents happen very often. [331]

In the islands worms pierce the hulls of boats so that after two years it is necessary to line them again or abandon them. [162] The Caribs take branches or sticks of mahot and peel off the bark which they crush with a stone. Then they cut it in pieces as long as a hand, and use it as oakum to calk the seams of their canoes. Sometimes they add gum instead of pitch, but not very often. [164] To make elemi gum they slash a chibou tree. The next day they collect the gum which flows out abundantly. The Caribs use it to tar their pirogues and make from it a beautiful black which they call cóina [185] Mâne noumânien is a black resin from South America which they use as pitch. [352]

The paddles of the Caribs differ from French oars. They are polished and are about six feet long. They hold the top of the handle in one hand while the other hand is close to the blade. They dip it straight in, breaking the water when they paddle. [366] They use a

501 Their paddles have a handle like that of a spade, i.e., with a small piece of wood across the end. This is held in one hand while the other hand grasps the paddle near the blade which is two and one half [illegible] feet long. They paddle differently from the way we row, for they face the front, pushing the water behind to drive the pirogue ahead. They sometimes go 200 to 300 leagues in fairly bad weather and when they have arrived the only anchor they have is a stone between four sticks. Their only cable is made of mahot fiber.

The coulialas, which we call canoes, never exceed twenty feet in length and three to four feet in width. They are pointed at both ends making it difficult to distinguish bow from stern. They seldom build up the sides with planking. They paddle these in the same way as they paddle pirogues.

There are many kinds of canoes. Some are so small that they can only carry one man and are used only for fishing. They sometimes use rafts such as were described in the first part of this book. They 502 have no compasses, magnets, or sundials, and therefore do not go too far from land. When they lose sight of land they steer at night by the stars, and by day by the course of the sun.

The one who assumes the responsibility for a trip is called a captain, and he commands the pirogue. He gives orders for everything necessary for the embarkation, although he is not more highly considered by the others because of his role.

●484 When they land someplace other than their own settlement, they build small roofs or porches which they call ajoupa. They cover them with latan or wild plantain leaves and hang their beds beneath them.

10. Warfare and Weapons

701 The Caribs have three kinds of captains who command them. The first are masters of canoes or pirogues. The second have settlements of their own. The third kind of captain is elected by common consent, either because he has shown great courage in war or because he has killed many of their enemies. They never elect young men, even if they are sons of captains, for they fear that young men have had too little experience and are too impetuous, which would endanger

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

342 Men slept in this structure; they and the boys ate, worked, and passed the time of day there. Women, however, entered only to serve the men.

Women's houses were each about half the size of the carbet. Their construction was the same, except that each had only a single doorway and was provided with a reed partition separating the room where the women and children slept from the kitchen.

The storage platforms were built on piles and roofed, but open on the sides.

352 **Household furniture.**—Mats were used to cover the doorways of the houses. Within, hammocks were the chief articles of furniture (pl. 93). Made of a network of cotton thread, they were 6 feet (1.8 m.) long and 12 feet (3.6 m.) wide. The ends were tied by cords to two posts in the wall of the dwelling; often the cords extended along the sides of the hammock as decoration. Some hammocks were painted red or black. They had a small packet of ash at each end, which was believed to make them last longer. Small wooden tables and stools were used in many houses; some had cabinets in which to store weapons and utensils. The rafters also were a favorite storage place.

[484] When on canoe trips the *Carib* made temporary shelters by erecting posts, to which they attached hammocks, covering them with a roof of palm leaves.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing, hairdress, and toilet.**—Like the *Arawak*, the *Carib* had no clothing except for a small cotton apron worn by women over their genitals (pl. 93). In historic times this was ornamented with beads. Every
342 morning men washed themselves and sat in the carbet while the women combed their hair, anointing it with oil, and painted their bodies red. The women then dressed themselves in the same manner. The paint, urucú (roucou), was made by mixing oil with boiled and ground seeds from the bixa plant. It was brushed over the whole body, partially for decoration and partially as a protection against insects. On ceremonial occasions men also used black paint made from genipa; they had their wives paint it in streaks over their faces and bodies, using tiny hair brushes.

[352] Rich black hair was considered a sign of beauty. Both men and women wore it long, cutting only the part above the eyes. They let it hang free or sometimes banched part of it on the back of the head, tying it with a cotton cord and decorating it with tail feathers of the macaw (arara). Only slaves had their hair cut short in the *Arawak* manner. Men plucked their beards, which they considered a deformity.

304 **Deformation and scarification.**—A mother flattened both the forehead and the back of her child's head. The *Carib* pierced the ears, nasal septa, and lower lip for the insertion of fishbones, feathers, stone pendants, or pieces of wood, stone, or shell. They used the latter only temporarily,

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

person; it had a flat stern and served mainly for fishing. The rafts consisted of a series of logs, lashed to two transverse bars.

The pirogues and canoes seem to have been better finished than the *Arawak* canoes. Their sides were smoothed, polished, and often painted to represent Indians or maboya spirits. In historic times (and perhaps earlier) the pirogues had three masts and the canoes two, each supporting a sail made from cotton or from palm-leaf matting.[5] The paddles were spade-shaped, like those of the *Arawak;* that of the steersman was one-third longer than the rest (pl. 94).

When on a raiding expedition *Carib* men traveled alone, taking only several women to prepare their food and to paint them with urucú. Otherwise men, women, and children traveled together. They carried their hammocks and kitchen utensils and landed at night to build temporary sleeping shelters.

The *Carib* were quite superstitious about traveling from island to island. While at sea they ate no crabs or lizards and drank no water, for fear of not being able to reach land. They were careful, too, not to spill fresh water into the sea, for they believed that this would cause storms and a swelling of the water. When passing a place where *Carib* had previously been drowned they threw overboard food so as to prevent the dead people, now living at the bottom of the sea, from causing them to capsize. Upon the appearance of a storm cloud they all blew into the air and waved their hands to drive the cloud away. When it did become stormy they chewed manioc bread and spit it into the sea and air to appease the spirits (omicou) who were causing the storm. If the wind were unfavorable, an old man would shoot an arrow at the prow of the canoe in order to make the canoe go straight as an arrow. The *Carib* never named or pointed at the land which they were approaching, for fear that they might not be able to get ashore.

The people traveled by foot when on land, felling a log or using small canoes to cross streams. Burdens were carried in baskets on the back; babies were suspended in little hammocks strung around the mother's neck.

MANUFACTURES

Basketry and weaving.—Next to canoes the outstanding *Carib* artifacts were baskets (pl. 94). The men made these from *Latania* leaves, which they split, scraped with mussel shells, and plaited together. Often the baskets had double walls, separated by a lining of leaves which made them watertight. Some, made large and pyramidal, were used on the back as carrying baskets. Others, which were small, rectangular, and provided with covers, served for jewel boxes. They were supplied with a cord to be attached to the gunwales of the canoes, so that the basket would not be lost

[5] Some sources say the pirogues had topsails as well as the usual square mainsails.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

157 "shy." Originally it was the name for a kind of crab which, when it cannot escape unobserved, will curl up and remain perfectly still, so that by no amount of scrutiny or poking can it be made to show the least sign of life) undoubtedly has been one of the principal causes for the bolder, more hot-blooded negro's relatively greater success as a lover, and for the increasing proportion of mixed blood in the reserve today. It has, moreover, contributed to the decay and disappearance of language, legend, and custom; and renders doubly difficult today the task of eking out such vestiges of these as still remain.

578 The war feuds of other days have been replaced by a multitude of
[757] petty jealousies and hatreds, but the Caribs still resort to sorcery and piai as instruments of injury and revenge. Though, or perhaps just because, the boutou (war club) of yore has gone forever, that other no less formidable weapon, the tongues of the womenfolk, rages more mercilessly than before. In vain one looks among his present-day descendants for that fierceness which is said to have characterized the Carib of old, earning for him a symbolic association with the Malfini, or Mansfénix hawk.

481 Much has been made of the Indian's custom of walking in single or Indian file, and this is as true today in Dominica as ever or elsewhere; but it seems to be the natural outcome of a habit acquired of necessity on forest trails rather than a racial tradition. More significant, perhaps, is the Indian's peculiarly emphatic, stumpy, forward-falling gait, which, in a manner, is reproduced in his speech, character, and way of life.

● 484 The Caribs' love of travel, in an island where nine-tenths of the population never move without good reason outside a radius of half a mile from their homes, is perhaps worth mention. Few are the men of the reserve who have not at one time or another visited one or all of the neighboring islands of Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Martinique—and that with the prospect of no more than a wine or rum debauch if lucky, and a term of imprisonment if caught. Others have left the country for Guiana, Bolivia, or Cuba, as opportunity offered, in search of adventure rather than fortune. Men, women, even children, think nothing of a 35-mile tramp, over mountain track and through virgin forest, to Roseau, the capital, for the sole purpose of selling a few baskets or of buying a few yards of sail cloth or a pound of nails. Their business concluded and their money spent, they will take the homeward road immediately and, if only there be a moon to guide them, march all night through to arrive home by daybreak.

437 Whether cause or effect of poverty, I do not know, but the Indian's
181 proverbial ignorance of the value of money remains as much a fact as his general indifference. In Dominica, at least, he has no other